

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SES-01  
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DOEE-00 OES-09 SSO-00 IO-14 /174 W  
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P 071655Z DEC 78  
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INFO AMEMBASSY KABUL PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
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AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 30123

E.O. 12065: GDS 12/7/84 (GERMAN, ROBERT K.) OR-P  
TAGS: PEPR, AF, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET-AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY

(REF: (A) KABUL 9599 (NOTAL), (B) MOSCOW 28684 (NOTAL),  
(C) MOSCOW 28121(NOTAL), (D) MOSCOW 27597 (NOTAL),  
(E) MOSCOW 26985 (NOTAL)

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BEGIN SUMMARY(C): THE SOVIET-AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP  
TREATY SIGNED IN MOSCOW DECEMBER 5 INSTITUTIONALIZES  
THE CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPING  
BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SINCE AFGHANISTAN'S  
APRIL 1978 REVOLUTION. THE TREATY IS CLOSER TO  
THE THIRD WORLD MODEL FOR SOVIET FRIENDSHIP TREATIES  
THAN TO THE COMMUNIST MODEL, BUT IT INCLUDES SOME

NEW FEATURES THAT DO NOT FIT NEATLY INTO EITHER MODEL. THE TREATY CALLS FOR COOPERATION IN THE MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS. THE COMMITMENT TO MUTUAL CONSULTATIONS ON SECURITY ISSUES IS OPEN-ENDED, UNLIKE OTHER RECENT SOVIET TREATIES WHICH HAVE TIED SUCH CONSULTATIONS TO THREATS TO PEACE OR THREATS OF ATTACK. A MAJOR PLUS FOR THE SOVIET SIDE IS AFGHAN SUPPORT FOR MOSCOW'S ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL -- SOMETHING CONSPICUOUSLY LACKING FROM THE RECENT FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH VIETNAM. END SUMMARY.

1.(C) THE SOVIET-AFGHAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY SIGNED BY BREZHNEV AND TARAKI IN MOSCOW DECEMBER 5 IS CLOSER IN FORM AND CONTENT TO MOSCOW'S FRIENDSHIP TREATIES WITH OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES THAN TO ITS TREATIES WITH MEMBERS OF THE "SOCIALIST CAMP." UNLIKE THE SOVIET-VIETNAMESE TREATY THERE ARE NO REFERENCES TO THE "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY," THE "PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM," OR "SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION." NEVERTHELESS, A TEXTUAL COMPARISON OF THE SOVIET-AFGHAN TREATY AND RECENTLY-CONCLUDED SOVIET TREATIES WITH ETHIOPIA AND VIETNAM REVEALS SOME SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES WITH THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY AND A FEW SIMILARITIES WITH THE VIETNAM TREATY. CONFIDENTIAL

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#### MILITARY ASPECTS

2.(U) ARTICLE 4 OF THE SOVIET-AFGHAN TREATY SPECIFIES THAT THE PARTIES "WILL CONSULT AND WITH THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH SIDES TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES FOR THE PURPOSE OF GUARANTEEING THE SECURITY, INDEPENDENCE, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOTH SIDES." THIS GOES BEYOND THE FORMULATION IN ARTICLE 7 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY WHICH MERELY CALLS FOR CONSULTATIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF COORDINATING POSITIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF REMOVING A THREAT TO PEACE AND DOES NOT MAKE REFERENCE TO THE TAKING OF ANY MEASURES. THE SOVIET-VIETNAMESE TREATY, ON THE OTHER HAND, STATES THAT "IN CASE ONE OF THE PARTIES BECOMES THE OBJECT OF ATTACK OR OF THREATS OF ATTACK," THE PARTIES "WILL IMMEDIATELY BEGIN MUTUAL CONSULTATIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF REMOVING THAT THREAT AND TAKING APPROPRIATE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO ENSURE THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES." THE SOVIET-AFGHAN TREATY SEEMS TO CONSTITUTE A VAGUER, MORE OPEN-ENDED BUT LESS IMMEDIATE SECURITY COMMITMENT THAN THE

SOVIET-VIETNAMESE TREATY IN THAT THE FORMER DOES NOT SPECIFY THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH CONSULTATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE, EXPLICITLY MAKES THE TAKING OF APPROPRIATE MEASURES CONTINGENT ON THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH SIDES, AND LEAVES OUT THE WORD "EFFECTIVE" IN DESCRIBING THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN.

3.(U) ARTICLE 4 ALSO STATES THAT "IN THE INTEREST OF STRENGTHENING MUTUAL DEFENSE CAPABILITIES" THE SOVIET UNION AND AFGHANISTAN "WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP COOPERATION IN THE MILITARY AREA ON THE BASIS OF APPROPRIATE AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THEM." THIS IS SIMILAR IN SUBSTANCE TO ARTICLE 10

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P 071655Z DEC 78

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OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY AND EVEN CLOSER TO THE  
WORDING IN EARLIER SOVIET TREATIES WITH ANGOLA AND

MOZAMBIQUE. NO SUCH CLAUSE IS IN THE VIETNAM TREATY.

4.(U) ARTICLE 6 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY IS SIMILAR TO ARTICLE 11 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY IN WHICH THE PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEY WILL NOT ENTER INTO ALLIANCES OR TAKE PART IN ANY KIND OF GROUPINGS OF STATES OR IN ACTIVITIES OR MEASURES DIRECTED AGAINST THE OTHER  
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PARTY. HOWEVER, THE AFGHAN TREATY STRENGTHENS THIS BY ADDING THE WORD "SOLEMNLY" BEFORE DECLARE AND THE PHRASE "MILITARY OR OTHER" BEFORE ALLIANCES.

5.(U) ARTICLE 7 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY CONTAINS THE SAME REFERENCE TO "EFFORTS FOR DEFENSE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLES" AS DOES ARTICLE 4 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY . IT LEAVES OUT, HOWEVER, THE LANGUAGE ON THE RIGHTS OF STATES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES IN ACCORD WITH THE UN CHARTER -- WHICH WAS A NEW WRINKLE IN THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY.

POLITICAL COOPERATION

6.(C) ARTICLE 8 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY SAYS THE PARTIES "WILL FURTHER THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN ASIAN STATES, THE ESTABLISHMENT AMONG THEM OF RELATIONS OF PEACE, GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS AND MUTUAL TRUST AND THE CREATION OF AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF SECURITY IN ASIA ON THE BASIS OF THE JOINT EFFORTS OF ALL STATES OF THIS CONTINENT." THE ENDORSEMENT OF AN ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IS A MAJOR PLUS FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, SINCE EVEN THE VIETNAM TREATY DID NOT CONTAIN LANGUAGE SUPPORTING THIS LONG-STANDING SOVIET PROPOSAL.

7.(U) ARTICLE 5 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY, LIKE ARTICLE 3 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY, CONTAINS STATEMENTS OF RESPECT BY EACH PARTY FOR THE OTHER'S FOREIGN POLICY. WHILE THE ACTUAL LANGUAGE IS SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT, IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT THE SOVIET UNION EXPLICITLY "RESPECTS THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT WHICH IS PURSUED BY THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN."  
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8.(U) ARTICLE 9 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY INCLUDES

LANGUAGE ON COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF THE JUST STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR THEIR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. SUCH LANGUAGE WAS INCLUDED IN SOVIET TREATIES WITH ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE BUT WAS DROPPED IN THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY.

9.(U) ARTICLE 10 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY SAYS THE PARTIES "WILL CONSULT EACH OTHER ON ALL MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AFFECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES." THIS IS SLIGHTLY BROADER THAN THE FORMULATION IN ARTICLE 6 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY WHICH PROMISED CONSULTATIONS "ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES DIRECTLY AFFECTING THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES." THESE ARTICLES APPARENTLY REFER TO CONSULTATION ON POLITICAL ISSUES, SINCE CONSULTATION ON SECURITY MATTERS IS COVERED IN ARTICLE 4 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY AND ARTICLE 7 OF THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY.

#### OTHER ASPECTS

10.(U) THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION CLAUSE (ARTICLE 2) OF THE AFGHAN TREATY GOES FURTHER THAN THE MERE PLEDGE TO BROADEN AND DEEPEN COOPERATION CONTAINED IN THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY. THE AFGHAN TREATY SPELLS OUT SPECIFIC FIELDS FOR COOPERATION AND ADDS THAT THE PARTIES WILL "GIVE EACH OTHER ASSISTANCE IN THE TRAINING OF NATIONAL PERSONNEL AND IN PLANNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY." HOWEVER, THIS FORMULATION FALLS SHORT OF THE VIETNAMESE TREATY'S COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE LONG-TERM COORDINATION OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANS, TO CORRELATE DEVELOPMENT OF CRUCIAL BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY AND TO EXCHANGE

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KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE IN SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST  
CONSTRUCTION.

11.(U) THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION CLAUSE  
(ARTICLE 3) IN THE AFGHAN TREATY RESTORES THE  
REFERENCE TO COOPERATION BETWEEN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL  
ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN  
TREATIES WITH ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE BUT WAS  
INEXPLICABLY MISSING FROM THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY.  
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12.(C) ARTICLE 13 OF THE AFGHAN TREATY SPECIFIES THE  
SAME DURATION OF TWENTY YEARS AS THE ETHIOPIAN TREATY.  
HOWEVER, THE AFGHAN TREATY ADDS A NEW CLAUSE IN  
ARTICLE 14 WHICH PERMITS EITHER PARTY TO TERMINATE  
THE TREATY AT ANY TIME AFTER GIVING SIX MONTHS  
NOTICE. WE DO NOT KNOW THE REASON FOR THIS CHANGE,  
BUT IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT IT WOULD GIVE THE  
SOVIET UNION AN EASY WAY OUT OF ITS COMMITMENTS TO  
AFGHANISTAN SHOULD THE TARAHI REGIME FAIL TO SURVIVE.

13.(U) THE NEW FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH AFGHANISTAN  
BUILDS ON THE SOVIET-AFGHAN TREATIES OF 1921 AND 1931  
RATHER THAN REPLACING THEM. THE PREAMBLE TO THE NEW  
TREATY REAFFIRMS THE PARTIES' "COMMITMENT TO THE  
AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET-AFGHAN TREATIES  
OF 1921 AND 1931, WHICH LAID THE BASIS FOR FRIENDLY  
AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET  
AND AFGHAN PEOPLES AND WHICH MEET THEIR BASIC  
NATIONAL INTERESTS."

14.(C) IN SHORT, THE TREATY FORMALIZES THE CLOSER  
RELATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING SINCE APRIL AND  
GIVES CREDENCE TO BREZHNEV'S CLAIM, IN HIS DECEMBER 5  
SPEECH AT THE KREMLIN DINNER FOR TARAHI, THAT  
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND AFGHANISTAN  
HAVE TAKEN ON A QUALITATIVELY DIFFERENT CHARACTER.  
THE TREATY SATISFIES THE AFGHAN DESIRE FOR CLOSER  
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND SOME SORT OF SECURITY  
COMMITMENT FROM THE SOVIET UNION. IN RETURN THE  
SOVIET UNION HAS OBTAINED FORMAL SUPPORT FOR ITS  
ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL AND A PROMISE  
OF CLOSE COORDINATION ON OTHER FOREIGN POLICY  
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## Message Attributes

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